

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Your most humble petitioner knows, as well as he knows that fire burns, that, if gold and silver become the circulating money of England, more than half the present nominal amount of taxes cannot be raised without producing ruin and misery absolutely insupportable."—MR. COBBETT'S PETITION TO THE COLLECTIVE, DATED 20TH FEBRUARY, 1829.

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

On the present working of Events.

My LORD DUKE, Kensington, 19th May, 1829.

The day of the trial of your *real courage and skill* is now, apparently, at hand. It is little, or rather nothing, to gain "victories" when a man has *a hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling* to expend in the gaining of them; it is no more to gain victories, being thus provided, than it is for an ugly old beast of a nabob, with rotten liver and stinking breath, but with a big bag of gold in his hand, to gain "*a victory*" over a handsome and hale young man, if the battle be for the person of a beautiful prostitute. Nor is it much to gain parliamentary "victories," when the party gaining them has the collection and distribution of *sixty millions of taxes a-year*. Victories like these are nothing. But, a "*victory*" over the *Debt!* That is the victory which you now have to achieve; and unless you succeed here, all your other victories will very soon pass for nothing. I will, therefore, now offer you my opinion upon this subject. I am not bound by any sort of obligation to tell you how to go to work in order to ensure this success. I have told you before, often enough;

and if you continue to reject my advice but a little longer, even that advice will be of no use to you. You are entitled to no forbearance from the nation. If it be ruined and convulsed, it will have a clear right to ascribe the evil to you. For, in the first place, you took the office of Minister, *when I had offered to take it*; and, in the next place, you have all along rejected my advice. Ah! it is now useless to laugh at this: the beggared merchants and farmers will not join you in the laugh. They will look sulky at you, when they see you laugh; and though the beggared vagabonds hate me most cordially, they will very soon say, that it would have been better if *Cobbett had been Minister*; and they already say, that it would have been better, *if his advice had been followed*. To laugh may well be in fashion amongst place-men, pensioners, sinecure-men and women, dead-weight, army, navy, and all tax-eaters; because they are now getting double the sum that they would get in the old paper-money; but I do assure you, that laughing is quite out of fashion amongst the *tax-payers*. You were duly warned of the evils that must arise, unless you followed my advice; you rejected my advice, the evils are come, and *you are responsible for them*; and fairly and fully responsible too, because you took your office *when I had offered to take it*. Carry us through; prevent utter ruin; prevent convulsion; settle the matter peaceably and well; put a stop to famine and to the hideous increase of crime: do these things, and I will applaud you; but, if you fail to do them; if the nation suffer dreadfully in your hands, I, above all men, shall have a right to censure you.

With these prefatory remarks, I proceed to address you on the present "working of events," to borrow a phrase from the "illustrious statesman," as the Irish call him, who cut his own throat at North Cray in Kent. Events have, at last, nearly brought the *system* to the test. The *system* was begun by the

DUTCH DELIVERER and SCOTCH BISHOP, BURNETT. It produced the Septennial Act, the Excise, the Stamp Acts, the loss of the United States of America, the anti-jacobin war, the twenty-pound notes first, then the fifteen-pound notes, then the ten-pound notes, then the Pitt and Grenville Sinking-fund, then the five-pound notes, then the *one-pound notes*. This has been the *progress* of the system. But during the last ten years, the Collective Wisdom of the nation, the grand senate at Westminster, the sages of this enlightened society, the sublime and sapient sons of Solomon, have been passing acts for the purpose of *getting rid of these one-pound notes*. They, however, though "*omnipotent*" have not *done* the thing yet, though nothing in the world can appear to be more easy; and though they have positively enacted that it should be done, and that no one-pound note should circulate, or pass, after the 5th day of last month. But though not yet half nor a quarter carried into effect, what havoc has this Act made! Once more, I will *warn you*. I do not suppose that you will listen to me; but the base sufferers shall hear me, and shall, in addition to their other mortifications, clearly see, that, *if I had been Minister, they would not have been ruined*. With this view, I will speak:

- I. Of the state of the country.
- II. Of the violation of the Small-note Act.
- III. Of the way for the people to punish this violation, and in which I shall punish it.
- IV. Of Goulburn's last year's speech on the Scotch Small-note Bill, and on my contradictions of Goulburn.

I. The state of the country is this: the labouring people, whether in agriculture, handicraft, or manufactures, are in a state of half-starvation, from one end of England to the other; farmers cannot pay, have not paid, and will not pay, more than sixty per cent., on an average, of their Lady-day rents; corn (taking the six sorts together) is now, notwithstanding the last short crop and bad harvest, *seven per cent. cheaper than*

it was last year at this time, after a good crop and good harvest; foreign commerce is in so wretched a state, that freights are at about a *fourth* of what they have been on an average of the last ten years; master manufacturers are every where ruined, or doing nothing; tradesmen do not take on an average, whether in shops or for work done, half the money that they have for many years been accustomed to take; confidence in dealings is almost wholly destroyed, punctuality in payments is now laughed at: insolvency is general, and compositions with creditors have, in a great measure, set aside the laws for the making of bankrupts and insolvents. While this is the case in all parts of the country, *the taxes are undiminished*, and those who receive them become richer in the exact proportion in which those who pay them become poorer. Such is the real state of this now-miserable country; and the country is in this state *because you have not listened to my advice*. Because, too, STANLEY and WOOD were made use of to keep me out of Parliament; for if I had been there, it would have been *impossible* for you to induce the people to suffer this horrible ruin to be brought upon them. How many, many thousands will suffer ruin and half-starvation in consequence of old Nic Grimshaw's ingenious tallies and traps! It would have been *impossible* for the thing to go on to this length, if I had been in Parliament. And this is the price which the beggared nation has to pay for the election of Stanley and WOOD. But the beggared nation *has* Stanley and WOOD! Let it have them, and make the best of them! In 1822, when the rich ruffians of manufacturers, and when the bull-frogs were in despair, I used to tell them that they had PETER MOORE and EDWARD ELLICE, and that surely they must be *safe*. The beggared ruffians of the present day have not PETER MOORE and EDWARD ELLICE: these two statesmen and legislators are gone God knows whither; but here are STANLEY and WOOD; and surely they will tell you how to put a stop to the ruin and starvation! They will tell you (Devil's in't else!) how to

pay the interest of the debt without the aid of one-pound notes! They who voted for your Scotch Small-note Bill, which was to vote for your perseverance in the English one; they who thus voted, will surely be good enough to tell you how to pay debt, dead-weight, army, navy, ordnance, palace-building, salaries, pensions, sinecures, grants, and all the rest of it, not forgetting sums annually given to the *Church of the Law*: they will, I dare say, tell you how to pay all these very regularly without suffering small-notes to be in circulation. Look at them: *look at* this brace of legislators: *listen* when they open their mouths: and then you will be quite sure that there can be no danger to the country so long as it have *them* amongst its pilots!

II. But notwithstanding the vast advantage which the country derives from having such a couple of statesmen and legislators, it is, *as yet*, in a queer way! And amongst other things constituting this state of queerness is the violation of the Small-note Bill, passed on the 22d of March, 1826. I have recently observed, that this law has been evaded ever since the 5th day of last month. But it is not *evasion*; it is open, clear, unqualified, barefaced **VIOLATION** of the law; and this violation is going on all over England and Wales. The law distinctly provides, that if *any person or persons* issue *any small-note* in England, after the 5th of April, 1829, the party issuing shall pay 20*l.* penalty for every such act. Yet these small-notes *continue to be issued* all over England and Wales! And what is the pretence? Why, that they are not now issued by the *maker of them*, but by *some other banker*! Impudent vagabonds! Why, the *law* says, *any person* issuing *any small-note*. What use was it to pass the law, if a banker could, just before the 5th of April, set his son or servant up in a bank, at the next door, *to issue and re-issue his small-notes*? However, I do not mean to let this pass with mere words. I mean to put you and the *law to the test*. I will, in a very short time, bring this matter before a competent tribunal: I will show to the nation and

to the whole world, *what sort of law* and *what sort of Government* we have; or I will get the penalties.

III. On this subject; that is, the way for *the people to punish* this violation of the law; on this subject I will treat more fully in my next, when I have time to ascertain the precise mode of proceeding to *recover the penalties*. There is a penalty of 20*l.* on every small-note issued or re-issued after the 5th of April, no matter *by whom* it be issued or re-issued; no matter *by whom* made; no matter whence it comes; for *every note under five-pounds* issued or re-issued by *anybody* after that day, there is a penalty of 20*l.* No matter at all whether Bank of England note, English, Scotch, or Irish country note; the law applies to all alike, if issued or re-issued by *anybody in England* after that day. The evidence required is this: 1. That the witness saw the note issued, that is, put out, or passed out: 2. That the note was for a sum less than five pounds: 3. That the issuing, or passing out, took place after the 5th day of April, 1829: 4. That the note was payable on demand to the bearer thereof: 5. That the transaction took place in England: 6. That the name of the party issuing, or putting out, was such or such. That is all that is wanted. Nothing more: the note need not be produced in court. The witness need not prove whom it was signed by, or for whom it was originally made. So that all those who wish to see the laws obeyed; who wish to see law-making not a vile mockery; all such persons have only to go to some rag-rook, who is issuing or re-issuing the rags of some other rook, take from him a good lot of the small rags, take them home, and make a list of their numbers, dates, sums, and signatures, and then carry them to the rook who first issued them, and get the gold for them. Take a witness, if convenient, or, if not, be witness yourself, and let somebody else be *informer*. The numbers, dates, and signatures, are not absolutely necessary; but it may be as well to have them. In my next I will give full and plain directions for proceeding to recover the penalties. The sweet system of law-giving

requires the searching of several large volumes, in order to know how we are to go to work to make those impudent vagabonds pay the penalties awarded by the law. However, I will not only give instructions for the recovery of the penalties, but I will *lead the way*; I will show my readers one of two things: namely, that these rag-vagabonds can be severely punished; or that we have courts of law that will, thereafter, need no description: but I should do injustice to Judges if I did not give it as my decided opinion, that there is not one of them who would not, without hesitation, declare this issuing and re-issuing by persons other than the makers, to be as much a violation of the law as if committed by the makers themselves. If any one have a mind to have a pluck at the rooks, the sooner *he secures the proof the better*. It is a violation of the law for *any one* to pass a small-note to *any other one*; and I will bring *this* before a court; but my readers will do best to confine themselves to the rooks in the manner above described. Now, before I quit this matter, I beg any of my readers in *England* to give me (either by message left at Fleet Street, or by letter to Fleet Street, postage paid) the NAMES of any rook or rooks, who are at this work of issuing or re-issuing the small-notes of other rooks, and also their PLACES OF ABODE. I request them, in all parts of *England*, to give me this information *without delay*; for I will be at the vagabonds with as little delay as possible. I also wish for information as to the issuing and passing of cheques. And here I leave this matter for this week. My next Register shall contain *all the law* and all the practice of the case.

IV. And now, my Lord Duke, let me offer you some remarks on GOULBURN's last year's speech on the Scotch small-note bill. The discussion of this Scotch thing was made an occasion for discussing the question, whether our own bill ought, or ought not, to be persevered in. You resolved on the former, and I applauded you for it, and still applaud you for it, always explicitly declaring, however, that *this measure would produce*

dreadful calamity, unless preceded by a very great reduction of taxes, which I, therefore, implored you to make. You, it now appears, resolved to enforce the bill *without any such reduction*; and, as I had contended that the taking away of the small notes would greatly reduce the quantity of money in circulation, and produce dreadful distress, GOULBURN, in his speech upon the subject, asserted that no such effects would be produced. He asserted as follows:

1. That there were in circulation, or, in the country, *twenty-two millions of sovereigns*.
2. That there were of Bank of England notes, in amount, *twenty millions*.
3. That there were of large country notes, fives and upwards, in amount, *fourteen millions*.
4. That there were of notes under five pounds, in amount, **LESS THAN THREE MILLIONS**.

What ground for alarm, then, said sensible GOULBURN! Here, at the utmost, are only *three millions* taken away out of *sixty*! Sensible fellow! But, said Goulburn, "besides this, the bankers, when they have got rid of the ones, when relieved from them, by which they get nothing, will be more liberal in the issue of fives." God forgive the fellow! but really, my Lord Duke, he almost drove me out of my wits! How I did stare, and storm, and stamp the floor, and thump the table, and make my wife's unhappy cups and saucers jump about! "What, said I, "issue more fives in consequence of the suppression of the ones! Issue more fives!" And God forgive you, my Lord Duke, for giving such a fellow as this *six thousand pounds a-year of our money*! "What! more fives," again I broke out: "more fives in consequence of the suppression of the ones!" I will not plague you with a relation of all the mad pranks that this saying of GOULBURN made me play; but will just relate, that, as soon as I got a little cool, and my hand became steady, I wrote down in the Register: "this man must certainly be crazy; for, the ones

"are the legs that fives move about upon." I then proceeded to show, that, as PITT, with all his *jaw* and all his *alarms* and all his *outeries* about *jacobins*, could not get the fives to move without ones, in 1797, it was monstrous to suppose that the fives would *now* move about without ones; and that, what must it be, then, to suppose that the *suppression of the ones* would make the fives move about *the more freely*!

The opinions, the political philosophy, of sensible GOULBURN, have already had, in the events of the last three months, a pretty ample commentary! For, first, it is a fact perfectly notorious, that master manufacturers, that gentlemen, that even noblemen, are now paying the *weekly wages of their people in the country*, and *paying other small sums, in cheques*, drawn on bankers, *payable to bearer*; and that these are for sums from *ten to forty shillings*. This is notorious. It is notorious also, that these *cheques* have been made to *supply the place of small notes*. What! my Lord Duke, *not three millions of small notes altogether*; a great part of these, three-fourths of these, still in circulation; and, while you have *twenty-two millions of sovereigns in circulation*, people driven to make *cheques to supply the place of one-pound notes*! Good God! And you have a Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom we pay *six thousand pounds a-year for his management of our money affairs*! Fine, sensible, and high-spirited nation! "envy and admiration of the world!"

But GOULBURN said, that the *suppression of the ones* would cause *more fives to come out*. My Lord Duke, send Goulburn into the country *incognito*; let him, with a hundred pounds of Bank of England notes in his pockets, go, for instance, to the bank of HEMEL HEMPSTEAD in Hertfordshire; let him ask there for change for his hundred pound Bank of England note; and, if they change it for him without making him pay *three-pence in the pound*, I will engage to eat Goulburn, and his note too. Let him offer to take their *fives* in exchange: and, if they do not tell him, that that is of *no use to them*, for that the

fives will *come back for gold directly*; if they do not tell him this, I will say that GOULBURN is a clever fellow. Let him go to the same bank *with a country five-pound note*, not of the Hempstead Bank; and, if they do not make him pay *six-pence* for changing it, I will say that he ought to have six thousand pounds a-year of our money. Now I am only, in fact, relating here what is actually taking place all over the country. So that even now the *paper is, in this way, at a discount*. That which I have here supposed is fact. And now, if sensible GOULBURN were compelled to pay *six-pence* for changing a five-pound note into gold and silver; and, if he were compelled to pay *threepence in the pound* for changing a hundred-pound Bank of England note into country fives, or into gold, would not sensible GOULBURN take care, another time, to refuse five-pound notes, and hundred-pound notes? Would not other people do the same; and would there not be less fives and less hundreds in circulation? And would not the quantity of money diminish, and would not the prices fall, and would not the tax-eaters grow fat, and would not the tax-payers be ruined?

A person who was about to begin a job in Kent, the other day, and who knew that he should have to pay weekly a considerable sum of money to work-people, went to a banker near the spot, and proposed to him to lodge Bank of England notes or drafts on London, and draw on him *cheques payable in his own notes*. The banker *declined*, saying, "my notes would *come back immediately to be paid in gold*; and I should be *keeping gold to supply you with, without any profit for my money or my labour*." It was, therefore, agreed, that the party who was to draw on the bank, should lodge the money in London, and that the banker should have *a quarter per cent. commission* for paying the *cheques*. This was all right enough: this is the legitimate employment of a banker: this is not *rag-rooking but banking*: the banker is a man to take care of your money, and to pay it to your order: and this was what this banker did in this case. By the taking of and the

paying out of a thousand pounds, he earned *fifty shillings*. This is, to be sure, very slow work compared with money-grinding; but it is just that sort of work that a banker ought to do.

Here, however, we see the way in which the thing does and must work. If it had not been for the suppression of the small notes, the employer would have deposited his money with the Rook; the Rook would have employed it for his own purposes; and would have paid the cheques, suppose in five-pound notes; but, when those five-pound notes came, as they would have come, to be changed, they would have been changed *by the Rook's one-pound notes*. Besides this, the fives would then have travelled *far and near*, because other rooks would *always be ready to give ones for them*. Now, they must *come home* to be changed; for what fool of a Rook will, without any profit, *give gold for them*? While the *ones* were plenty, the fives would travel round a circuit of thirty or forty miles; because, any Rook was glad to change them, *he getting thereby five of his own ones out*, and sending directly the five home for payment. But now no Rook will change another Rook's five, because he must do it *in gold*; or, if he do it, he must take a *discount*, as at HEMEL HEMPSTEAD. The fives must, therefore, now *stay at home*. They will not be carried away to any distance from markets or fairs, because they cannot be changed at a distance without paying a discount; and as for *lending* them, who will do that, when it is manifest that they must come quickly back to be exchanged for gold? The ones were the *legs* which the fives moved about upon; and this I told Mr. SPOONER in the time of the "late panic;" and, I dare say, that he now recollects it *well*. Sensible GOULBURN seems to have thought that the *legs* were a sort of *surplus*. He had got a nice little truss, lively lass, but she was rather *too lively*; she dashed about a little too much. "Gad!" said sensible GOULBURN, "I'll stop her rambling: I'll cut her *legs off*." "Cut her *legs off*!" said I. "What use will she be of then?" "Ob," said he, "she will have *another pair of thighs* instead of the *legs*, and

"she will be a great deal more steady." "Steady!" said I, "but, man, sensible GOULBURN, how is she to *move about*?" No matter! on he went; chopped off her legs, or, at least, most cruelly crippled them; and there she is, creeping about as if she were hamstrung. Sadly changed! She was once as lively a piece of stuff as ever chucked 'prentice boy under the chin; and now she is dull and vapid as a prostitute turned methodist.

I here dismiss this matter *for the present*: there will be opportunities enough to return to it: this is a thing that will stick by you. Will you adopt any measure before the "*representatives*" separate; when you will not have STANLEY and WOOD at hand to show you how to save the nation? I do hope that you will not consent to repeal the Small-note Bill! The Birmingham people are going to pray you to do it; but, I say to you, as SWIFT tells us the boys of LISBON used to say to the Jews, when going to the stake, "*stand firm!*" These Portuguese boys were afraid of losing the *bonfire*; and though I am not afraid of losing my *Feast of the Gridiron*, (for, first or last I must have it,) yet, I confess I want the sport to come as soon as possible; and if our "*representatives*" separate without doing any thing, *in their way*, about the bank notes, some fine sport we certainly shall have before Christmas. Let it always be borne in mind, if you please, that I have never advised you to persevere in the Small-note Bill without, at the same time, praying and imploring you *to reduce the taxes*. This has always been my prayer, a prayer which I have just repeated to our famous "*representatives*."

W.M. COBBETT.

P. S. Have you heard about what is going on amongst the *sleek-heads*? I have letters from Canterbury, Rochester, and several other places, naming the parties! I am assured that two, if not more, have fled to France! This is a pretty crew to be believed upon their bare word. However, the Small-note Bill will soon rid us of these vermin, and of the Jews also. Only let us have that Bill fully enforced;

and these beastly creatures must all disappear.

P. S. 2d.—The public knows how I was abused for years, because I proposed an *equitable adjustment* with the fundholder. NOW what do we see from that same press, which so abused me. Take the following as a specimen, from the newspapers of Monday last: "This day is published, price 2s. 6d. THE GENTLE SPONGE; being a Safe, Easy, Certain, and Just Mode of Redueing to any desirable extent, the National Debt of England; in a Letter to His Grace the Duke of Wellington (with Notes). By an OLD SOLDIER.—Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green."—That is good! "An Old Soldier" is the man for the fundholders; he is the man for the miscreants, who published an address applauding Sidmouth's Dungeon Act in 1817. Ah! the thing is working! I have no curiosity to see this letter: the *title* is quite enough for me. But if our brother soldier imagines, that he can tell you how to *sponge* out the Debt, and keep up army, dead-weight, civil-list, and the rest of it, he is deceived. Here are a million of people got together on one spot. A good three hundred thousand of them are stout enough to break open a house; and be assured that they will not starve quietly. However, in any emergency of this sort, you will have the two "Honourable Representative Senators," STANLEY and WOOD, to advise with; and being in such hands, how can you go wrong? In this way I comfort all my desponding neighbours, and allay all their alarms: "To be sure," say I, "things do look gloomy; it does appear to be impossible to make people pay without money; it is enough to frighten one when one thinks of a debt and dead-weight, and army, and navy, and civil-list, and all fixed upon us for ever, costing, with collection, sixty millions a year; it is enough to frighten one when one thinks of this aggregate debt of two thousand millions, the interest of which is to be paid while wheat will be at 4s. a bushel: these things are enough to frighten one; but when we see, that, week after week, and month after month,

"these great statesmen and senators, STANLEY and WOOD, who so neatly splitted votes at Preston; when we see that *they* are not alarmed, but talk away about things to be done twenty years hence, just as if there were not the smallest danger; when we see this, our alarms vanish: we look at these profound, vote-splitting statesmen, and seeing, in the clear mirror of their countenances, the tranquillity and complacency of their minds, we ourselves become tranquil; we feel a conviction that there can be no danger when we see proof that these enlightened statesmen perceive none." This is my way of tranquillizing my alarmed neighbours; and when it fails, as it sometimes does, I have no resource.—There is a fellow at Manchester, an Unitarian by trade, and a fool by nature, who carries on a newspaper called *The Guardian*. This fellow, whose name is TAYLOR, is tother ass of the pair made up of him and of *Baines*, at Leeds. This pair of conceited and stupid beasts have been insisting, all along, that the abolition of the one-pound notes would produce no effect at all embarrassing. Now they have tacked about, and begin to denounce the Small-note Bill. They give account of great bodies of troops marching into the distressed districts." To carry victuals I presume! Good God! These vagabond newspaper cheats congratulate their readers on the arrival of troops, when one cavalry horse eats every week as much of the same sort of food as is now eaten (according to these fellows' own account) by four families of that people whom these troops are to keep in order! Never was the like of this witnessed before in any country upon earth, Ireland only excepted. And how it can be, God only knows, when we, though we have lost the senators, PETER MOORE and EDWARD ELICE, have, in their place, STANLEY and WOOD!

BREAKING BANKS.

THE newspapers tell us, that a rag-shop at CREWERNE, another at CHARD, and one at EXETER, have "stopped." The two former places are in SOMER-

SESHIRE. Upon this subject I addressed, some days ago, the following letter to the editor of The Morning Herald, when I have inserted which I shall add a remark or two.

Barn-Elm Farm, 15th May, 1829.

SIR,—The public are under the greatest obligations to you for having given us what may be fairly called a *free press*, which, within my memory, or, at least, within the scope of my knowledge of such matters, this country never had, until you had the spirit to cast aside the long-practised partiality of the London newspaper press. Nevertheless, even you have felt yourself restrained, in the case of the three banks in the West of England, from giving, as early as you might have done it, the *names* of those banks. However, I for one feel greatly obliged to you for what you have done even in this case.

You must be sensible, Sir, of the great injury that must arise to many poor individuals from these failures: men, to whom a pound or two, more or less, is a matter of no importance, do not take time to reflect, on the heart-aching produced by failures like these. When the bank of MINCHIN, of GOSPORT, failed, in the year 1818, it was stated, in the county-papers, that the feelings produced upon that occasion were equal to those which would have been produced, if a dead corpse was lying in every third house in the county; a figure of rhetoric really terrific; but not more terrific than true. We, here in London, where every man is surrounded by a greater or less degree of support and comfort from his neighbours, can form no estimate of the extent of calamities of this sort in the country.

And, Sir, is it not the duty of the Government effectually to prevent the recurrence of these calamities? Yes, and to do the Government justice, it did adopt, and with sincerity too, a measure, which it thought, and which I thought, would have put an end to this crying mischief on the fifth day of the last month. But, Sir, what has now taken place? That which every one calls, and which I have called, an evasion of the law. It is now time, however, to call it an eva-

sion no longer: but to call it, as I now call it, and as I pledge myself to prove it to be, an open and daring violation of the law, proceeding for now thirty-five days wholly unchecked, and, apparently, wholly unnoticed, by the Government!

This violation consists in bankers and other persons continuing to issue and re-issue, in England, promissory notes, payable on demand to the bearers thereof, for sums of money *less than* five pounds. The scheme which has been resorted to is this: one banker issues and re-issues the small notes of another banker, and individuals issue such notes one to another. I assert that this is a *violation* of the law: I assert, that no man, whether he be banker or not, can issue, that is to say, put forth, put out of his hand to another man, in payment, or for any purposes of payment, any promissory note, be it made or signed by whom it may, without subjecting the party issuing to the penalty of twenty pounds. I assert, Sir, that this was not only the intention of the law, that it is not only the spirit of the law; but that it is the letter of the law.

I am aware, Sir, that this being a penal statute, must be strictly construed; I am aware of this; and, being thus aware, I am resolved to bring this matter before a competent tribunal, the first moment I have leisure and opportunity to do it. I will, if practicable, bring the matter before the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; though I shall not be very particular as to which of the Judges preside on the occasion; for I am as sure as that I am in existence, that there is not one of their Lordships, who would not instantly declare that this is a flagrant and impudent violation of the law. It is not for me to say in *what quarter* the violators have found persons to encourage them to proceed in the violation; or, whether they have found the encouragement solely in that long career of impunity which they have met with in the ruin which they have spread over the country; whether they have found it in that ease and luxury which they have enjoyed, amidst the ruin and cries of their unhappy victims; but, this I will say; this will positively

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assert; that if God spare my life for only a few weeks, I will bring this question to issue; and, I repeat, that I pledge whatever of reputation for knowledge which I may happen to possess, that there is not a Judge sitting on the bench, who will not declare, and without hesitation declare, that the issuing and reissuing of small-notes which is now going on all over the country, is an unqualified and daring violation of the law.

In conclusion, I have to express my hopes, that there will be many persons found, with public spirit enough to bring these mischievous culprits to justice; but if there be, in the whole kingdom, but one man to do it, that man shall be found in him who, with great sincerity, signs himself, Sir, your much obliged and obedient servant.

W.M. COBBETT.

Break! to be sure. They must shut up shop or break; for how are they to get *gold* to issue; and, if they get it, *why* issue it! As long as they can keep out the *small notes*; that is to say, as long as they are permitted to violate the law, it will answer their purpose to keep open shop; but, if they be pulled up, or even if they *find protection* in their infamous conduct, they will not *long* be able to keep open shop with profit. The "*worthless rags*," as Prosperity Robinson justly called them, must disappear; prices of 1793 must come back; and the fat soldier, placeman, pensioner, sine-cure-man and woman and child, and the dead-weight-men and women and children, and the fund-eating tribe, will all laugh at the beggared land-owner, the beggared farmer, trader, merchant, and manufacturer; aye, and at the *beggared West Indian* too, whose country will soon be basking in the full blaze of the influence of the wisdom of the legislators of St. Stephen's. Yes: this band of base people (always at the nod of the government) will very soon find it necessary to be a little less basely submissive than they have been, unless they be prepared for working on the plantations with their own hands, which I should be very happy to see them compelled to do. They would give the fraternal hug to the

United States to-morrow, only they cannot endure the idea of having nobody to pull *hat off to them*. These fellows have been amongst the most infamous of the enemies of reform: I shall see hundreds of them in the poorhouse!

TO

SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

Barn-Elm Farm, 13th May, 1829.

THE newspapers tell us, that you said, the other night, "a Debt of eight hundred millions had been contracted in a paper-currency, and we were at-tempting to pay it off in money ac-cording to the ancient standard. This lay at the bottom of all our difficulties." If you did say this, you are capable of condensing nonsense in a very admirable manner. The Debt is eight hundred millions, with, in fact, another eight hundred millions added to it; for the dead weight, the poor-rates, the civil list, and the populous company of "*fine fellows*"; all that these cost is just as much *debt* as the receipts of the fund people are *debt*: all must go on, or all stop *together*. Then, descendant of John with the bright sword, how comes it that you never complain of our at-tempting to pay the salaries, pensions, grants, and the like, in money of the old value? How comes it, man, that you are *mum* as a mouse upon *this* sub-ject? These salaries, and the rest of the things, and the pay and dead-weight too, and the allowances to royal folks; all these were not only "*contracted in a paper-currency*," but were, by law, actually *doubled*, or more than doubled in nominal amount, in order to meet the depreciation of that paper-currency! Well, then, bright sword man, why so *mum* upon these matters? If it be right to pay all these things in money of high value, why not pay the fund-holder in money of high value? Answer me that, man of the bright sword.—Oh, no! you do not get out of the mess so easily as this! What you want to do, and, indeed, what you have proposed to do, is this: *reduce the interest of the fund-holders' Debt, and keep up the army, and*

all the rest of it at the present rate of payment. Oh, no! you do not get out of the mess so neatly as this, I can assure you. It would be a pretty story, indeed, for the people to stand by and see the fundholders stripped, in order that the placemen, and army, and dead-weight might revel in riches. Oh, no! hero of the bright sword, you will never accomplish this! The people are *base* enough for this, or for any thing else; but their baseness will not *feed* them; they must *eat*; and a robbery of the fundholders would put a stop to the eating of some hundreds of thousands in one single place. In short, this is what cannot be done. There is another thing connected with this matter, that none of you ever even allude to; namely, the 1,600,000*l.* that the parsons had voted for them *out of the taxes!* This was voted "for the relief of the poor clergy of the Church of England." This money they got, too, while *loans* were making: the money was, in fact, *borrowed*: it makes *part of the fundholders' Debt*: and shall the parsons *keep this money*, while those who *lent* it are robbed of the interest? Oh, no! If your sword were as long as a hop-pole, you would never accomplish this. The affair must go on as it is now going on; just in this same way; and when it can go on no longer, there must be a general reckoning, and the base and bloody Boroughmongers must be called to account for their trafficking and for their other deeds. This may happen soon, or it may be put off for a few years; but that man is a fool indeed who imagines that the thing is to be *patched up*: it must *go to pieces*. Oh! it is a fine affair! The history of it will amuse future generations. It is all so fitting: a thing contrived by a *Protestant Bishop*; the object to *debase and enslave the people*; and finally to be blown up by the instrumentality of a *spinning-jenny man*, sent from *Oxford* by *parsons*, and then from another place, equally pure, by *Manasseh Lopez!* We must have a little *talk* about "the cur- "rency" before we separate, or else the people "*out of doors*" may think that we are *ignorant* of what is going on: a little *talk*, therefore, we must have; but,

a little *talk* is all that we shall have. No remedy will be applied, and nothing will be *proposed*; no, not even proposed; and nothing efficient ever will be attempted, until it be *too late*. In the mean while I enjoy your alarm, your anxiety, your uncertainty. One cause of your trouble is, *the triumph that you fear that I shall have over you!* I shall have it to a certainty; and the whole world shall ring with it. *I pledge myself to make it a matter of notoriety in every civilized country in the world.* Now mind, I pledge myself, that the amount of my triumph over you shall be given in all the *modern languages*. There you are, caught in a cleft stick of your own ingenious contrivance; stuck up to the belly in mud of your own making: and here, with finger pointed at you, and laughing at your senseless complaints, sits

W.M. COBBETT.

P. S. You shall be invited, and Burdett, primogeniture Burdett, along with you, to the **GRAND FEAST OF THE GRIDIRON**, which is to be held when either of the following things take place:

1. *Bank restriction*: 2. *a repeal of last small-note bill*: 3. *a direct or indirect reduction of the interest of the debt*: 4. *any new issue of notes under five pounds whether by sow or by pigs*: 5. *any measure to lower the gold or silver standard*. So that you must keep on as you are going; brave Waterloo! (oh! how sick you will be, before the affair is over, of the sound of that word!) must persevere with legislator Peel's bill; wheat must come down to 4*s.* a bushel; or I hold the Grand Feast of the Gridiron, and laugh you all clean off from the face of the earth. **NO RENTS**; or, **COBBETT'S TRIUMPH.** Take your choice.

EMIGRATION.

Many persons apply to me for advice upon this subject; and I will here say that which may save trouble to myself and others in future. I speak not of the poor people who have no money, and who do not like to remain here to be

starved to death. They would prefer *transportation* to remaining here; but, if they have a choice, I would advise such to go to *Canada*; for, they *can thence walk into the United States*, and become freemen, never to care about *boroughmongers* more, and never more to have their earnings devoured by *sincere* men and women and by *parsons*, *army*, and *dead-weight*. If a man have *money*, and have, of course, a choice of countries to which to go, and if he can hesitate for one moment between the *United States* and an *English Colony*, I despise the slave; and, I desire, that no wretch of this description will ever trouble me with applications for advice. *France*, or the *United States*, is the country. The former for people who can live upon their means, and have no families that it is necessary to bring up to work; and the latter for people who wish to live and to rear up families by the means of trade, manufactures, or agriculture. Those of this last description are most numerous. But first, let me speak of *France*. The climate is as good as ours at any rate; the country is as healthy; and, as to *expense of living*, this is precisely the fact: a man, who has *here* a house with twelve windows, who keeps only one horse and one dog, who has a garden, and in whose house only *one bottle of wine a day is drunk*, pays more in *assessed taxes*, *poor-rates*, and *indirect taxes alone*, then would furnish him with *three times as much of these things and other useful things in France*. In other words, out of a thousand pounds a-year that it costs a man to live in *England*, he might *lay by seven hundred in France*, and live better into the bargain. However, if his delight be to read the base old *Times* newspaper, and to pull off his hat and crouch to *boroughmongers*, who or whose spawn suck his blood, he will do well to remain where he is.—As to the *UNITED STATES*, if a man have *no money*, he must be prepared for mechanical or labouring *work*; if he have *money*, let him not think of *back woods* and *land for nothing*; for he will find that "*nothing*" to be an *enormously high price*. A

couple or three thousand pounds will purchase and stock a nice snug farm in *Long Island*, with house, out-buildings, orchard, woodland, and every thing in order. Such a farm can, in that beautiful and happy island, be purchased and stocked for less than it would take to carry a family, and just squat it down in *Van Diemen's Land*; and between this latter place and the *back woods of America* there is little difference, except that in the latter you dare *call your soul your own*, and in the former you dare not. For my part, I can form an idea of nothing so pleasant, as an *English farmer*, with two or three thousand pounds in his pocket, going and settling *at once* in *Long Island* or near it. Oh! how happy he must feel when he looks back at what he has left behind him! How he must pity the poor devils who are still compelled to pull off their hats to the *boroughmongers* and their numerous spawn! What a change! to be able to look at the *money* in his drawer, and to say, "*no tax-gatherers will come to take that away*." What a change to see no *beggar*; to hear of no *pauper*; never to hear the sound of the words, "*want of employment*"; and to look upon a man as mad, who raves about "*surplus population*!" What a change to behold the poorest of labourers eat meat three times a-day, and to see a whole people who do not deem it a *trespass*, if the stranger gather their fruit, or even if he come and sit down in their houses! What a change to behold these things, and never to see or hear of an *insolent cock parson*, strutting about and devouring the fruits of men's labour! Who can refrain from praying for the prosperity of such a country! Who can refrain from wishing success to its government? For my part, I see, with delight, every thing tending to *increase the power* of that happy country, to which I, in all probability, owe that I was not killed in some dungeon in 1817, and to which all us *Englishmen* (except the *Boroughmongers* and other *tax-eaters*) owe that we are not the most degraded of all *human beings*. If the brave *Yankees* had not beaten *Ross* and *Cochrane*, and *Pakenham*, and *Pro-*

vost, and Drummond, and Danes, and Douglas, and Carden, and the other blue and buffs on the lakes as well as on the sea, what would have been *our situation now*! Ay, ay! O'Connell and his crew frightened the Protestant KING: I had before prepared the way; but all our efforts would have been vain; indeed we *never should have dared to make any efforts*, if the brave Americans had not been victorious in the last war; and let the *Catholics* be well assured that they owe more to GENERAL JACKSON, the now President, than to all the "liberals" of both Houses of Parliament. JACKSON's glorious victory at *New Orleans* did more good than any other victory that I ever heard of; for, though our pretty people of Whitehall had *yielded* before that victory was heard of here, the victory decided the relative character of the combatants. When an Englishman gets well settled in America, let him be *grateful* to the country that has received him: let him glory in those achievements which have opened to him such a place of refuge; and let him praise the men, or the memory of the men, who have given freedom the victory over tyranny. If the emigrant be desirous of *growing rich*, or, of what is called *adding to his capital*, I recommend to him to go to some English colony, or, which would be shorter work, to the devil at once. For, in America, he can only *live well*, keep *generous hospitality*, take *his pleasure*, enjoy a *good deal of leisure*, and possess his farm unincumbered. This is *all* he can do in America; for if he attempt to rake money together, he will fail; and especially if he attempt to get money out of the labour of other people. He must *work some himself*; his children must work for him as they grow up; they will save money out of their labour; and, if all be well managed, there will be the means of giving to each child successively a fair start in the world. If there be any man, who is worthy of my good wishes, and who, with from 500*l.* to 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* in his pocket, is thinking about VANDIENEN'S LAND, NEW SOUTH WALES, or SWAN RIVER, or any other of their

"fine colonies," let me observe to him, let me assure him, that he is going to *certain ruin*. And *what government* is he going to live under! He is going to live in a country where *one man's will* is, and must be, *law*. O God! And that one man an *English military or naval officer*! Does he encourage himself by thinking he shall have nothing to do with the *governor*? I can tell him, that *see or hear* what he may, he must not *speak* much: he may open his eyes and his ears, but he must keep his *mouth shut*, and shut *closely* too, or the Governor will have *something to do with him*! Good God! Who but a slave by nature would live in a state like this? "Land for nothing," indeed! What, then, if the Devil were to put forth a prospectus for *free grants* in the unoccupied parts of his dominions, would you go thither merely because his colonial Secretary demanded no payment for grants? "Land for nothing" is generally much about as valuable as *sea* for nothing, or *sky* for nothing. I do not say, that it may not be advisable for *poor* men to go to Canada, in order to get into the United States; but what man but a fool (if with money in pocket) will go thither, when the United States are open to him? There is liberty, there is law, there is plenty, there is ease, there no man is afraid of another man, there no riches make a man haughty, and no poverty makes him mean. Only cross the boundary line; only step your foot into Canada, and there you behold the swarms of disgusting place-hunters, dead-weight people; the insolent upstarts in office, each of whom looks and talks as if he had Whitehall at his back. Such partiality every where; such foul play; such a race for office; such a system of espionage; such squandering and yet such meanness; such complete and absolute slavery of the press; such a villainous scene altogether, that the bare recollection of it, though at nearly forty years distance from my seeing the thing, fills me with contempt for any man who would voluntarily become one of the actors in it. Society in this country, meaning the whole kingdom taken together,

ther, is now quite bad enough; the most miserable, I verily believe, in all Europe; but, in the colonies, it is a thousand times worse. And, is it possible that a man with money in his pocket can think of placing himself in this horrid situation, while the United States are open before him? An English farmer that I have known several years, and that I have a great regard for, has just sailed for New York, with a view of settling on Long Island. He carries a letter from me to a gentleman on the spot to give him his advice in the purchase of a farm. I feel great interest in the success of this friend: he has a fine family to partake with him the pleasures and long life which, I hope, await them. He is acting a wise part: he detested the **THING**: he had made a very exact calculation of what the **THING** had *taken from him* and his family: he resolved that it should *take no more from him*, having already taken from him more than enough to purchase him two good farms in Long Island: he found that to keep his money from the **THING**, he must take his *body* out of the **THING'S** reach, for that, for every particle that he swallowed, he was obliged to pay something to the **THING**. So that he was obliged to take his body to a distance from the all-searching and all-squeezing **THING**. The **THING** will have a good part of the price of his *ship-stores*; but that will be the **THING'S** last pinch out of him. The moment he sets his foot on shore, he may toss up his hat and set the **THING** at defiance. He has acted a sensible part; he deserves happiness, and I pray God that he may have it.—I have said above, that *France* is the country for those who can live on their means, and have no families to bring up to work. But this depends on *taste*; for if the party like *plain, sensible, country society*, America is the place even for such persons. Living in a country-house, or in a village, is very little more costly in America than in *France*; and money brings a much greater profit in the former country than in the latter. *Seven per cent.* is the legal interest in the state of New York; and mortgages of the safest description may always be had on those

terms. So that a thousand pounds *there* is worth more than a thousand pounds here. In a country where labour is *high priced*, money must be *the same*. This, therefore, is worth the consideration of a man of wealth, who has a genteel family to provide for. In short, America is the country to go to: it is another England, but without hell-hounds of boroughmongers, and without the misery and crimes that boroughmongers produce. In my next I will give more particular instructions for those who wish to carry their hard earnings and place them out of the reach of the **THING'S** collectors.

BOTT SMITH'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.

It is some time since I amused my friends of Liverpool with an exhibition of the folly of this consummate beast. I am tempted to do it now, only because it gives me an opportunity of exposing a copious source of that delusion which has greatly assisted in producing the present state of things. Bott, in treating of the question of the nation's ability to continue to pay the interest of the debt in full tale and in gold, states, from one Lowe, a Scotchman, that "*the yearly income of the people of this country, arising from lands, trades, mines, fisheries, &c. is two hundred millions.*" Bott then says that "*Cobbett asserts, that the taxes raised yearly amount to double as much as the whole of the rental of all the houses, lands, mines, and all the other real property in the kingdom.*" And Bott concludes that I must be a *liar*; because the taxes do not amount to more than sixty millions a-year. But, beast Bott does not understand the difference between *income* and *rental*. I said nothing about *income*: I talked of *rental*; and, the rental of England and Wales was, in the high times of 1804, only *thirty-eight millions*: at this time, in proportion to prices of produce, it cannot exceed *twenty-five millions*; and, in 1822, Mr. CURWEN estimated it at *twenty-one millions*. This ignorant beggar does not seem to know, that my state-

ment was made from the *official return of the property tax*. But how should, and why should, such a beast know any thing except how to feed on the dark results of the fodder of Old Cropper ! The silly beast gives it as his opinion, that, if the taxes were a little *more equally distributed*, the interest of the debt might continue to be paid in full ! What a beast ! However, I ought not to take up my paper, and bother my readers, with a nasty beast like this, especially at a time like the present.

PRIMOGENITURE BURDETT.

EVERY one that has talked of this fellow ever since he stuck his knees in the back of that CANNING, whom he had, for years, been describing as an enemy of the people, and by whom he had been *challenged* for one of his many attacks on him ; every one that has talked of the fellow since he stuck his knees in this crib-man's back, has said, that *lower* it was impossible for him to fall. But, it really does seem, that, "in the lowest deep, he has found a lower deep." He has now discovered that whatever England has of *good*, it owes to the *law of primogeniture* ! The assertion is false, notoriously false ; but, the *folly* and *impudence* of it is what we have to notice here. Hundreds of men have heard him say, upon several different occasions, and before great numbers of persons, that it was the "*great families*," that caused the ruin of this country ! This was, for years, a *favourite topic* with him. When I once observed to him, that the country *had been* free and happy *with great families in it*, he answered, "by G— it never was, Cobden !" The nasty, low-minded, envious creature was, at that time, shunned by the "*great families*," and, therefore, he wanted to *set the people against them* ; and he did do it. Now he is creeping or has crept in amongst some of them again ; and now, therefore, he has the shamelessness to praise the *law of primogeniture* ! It is, verily, the most consummate political apostate that ever breathed. And to answer whatend ! It has become bewitched by the system, 'ying in love for it, just when it is either

abhorred, or spitten upon by all the rest of the world ! It is a great gaping fool after all. It is pity that Bio O cannot get into the "*tother place*." He and Burdett would make a *sweet couple* ! Poor Bio O seems to be getting the just reward of all his double-dealings, his blustering meanness, his lying and his poltroonery. Almost spitten upon at Court, rejected by the collective, black-balled by the Catholic aristocracy, and even by the gamblers, deprived of his power of deluding forty-shilling free-holders, his association put down, and his toad-eaters sent to the poor-house, and, "though last, not least," docked of the *RENT* ! He has but one thing to do to complete his perdition ; namely, become *toad-eater to Burdett*, supplanting either TUMBLE or COWHIDE.

LAW-CHURCH.

My readers will remember, that there is a Chartered Society, called the Society for the *Propagation of the Gospel in the Colonies* ; they will remember also the pretty exposures made last year relative to this Society, by the Rev. Mr. GRIFFIX, one of their Missionaries in Nova Scotia. Now, the doings of this Society would be of very little importance to us Englishmen, if it did not *take away part of our money*. This it does, however, and it is, therefore, worthy of our attention. This Society was established by *Charter* more than a hundred years ago. It was to exist and carry on its works by *voluntary contributions*. It soon found a way of getting at *public money* ; and, for a great many years, it has been receiving annually a *grant* out of the taxes. Last year our "*representatives*," amongst whom are STANLEY and WOOD, voted it 18,000*l.* of our money ; and this year they have voted *it 16,000*l.** Now, observe, my friends, the *Charter* of this Society declares its chief object to be to preserve the people in the colonies *from the seductions of Romish Priests*, who, it is feared, may teach them *superstition and idolatry* ! So that, while these our "*representatives*" have, in this very Session, passed an Act to admit Ro-

man Catholics to make laws to govern us, to sit in the King's Council and on the Bench, they have voted 16,000*l.* of our money to support a society, whose business it is to employ Missionaries to preserve our fellow-subjects *against the influence of Roman Catholic priests!* That is pretty well; but that is not all; for these same "representatives" vote, every year, a thousand pounds of our money to the *Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec!* Well! but this is not what I was going to tell you about this society. The *Archbishop of Canterbury*, and the rest of them, together with certain other great ones, are the rulers of this society. It has always been the custom of the society to hold a **GRAND MEETING** once a-year, on the third Friday of the month of May. It *wished* holding this meeting *last year* for the first time! If it had any reason other than that of not liking to meet Mr. GRIFFIN and his friends face to face, it never, at any rate, *declared its reason*. Well! but it has met this year, surely, when the Church is in danger? No, no! And Mr. GRIFFIN has informed me, that he went before the day for holding the meeting, and asked the Secretary whether there was to be a meeting this year; and having received an answer in the *negative*, he asked the reason; when the Secretary told him, that it was thought unadvisable to hold the meeting in the *present disturbed state of the country!* Pretty good! This meeting is a *public meeting* to collect *subscriptions*, and to make a *report to the mass of subscribers*; so that this is all neglected; the money is not collected; the subscribers are not reported to; and all this, I verily believe, because Mr. GRIFFIN is sure to meet these rulers face to face, and to state to the public that which it ought to know. Very *shy* grown; very *modest* all at once! The "*disturbed state of the country!*" The disturbed state of the *vestries*, I believe, they mean! In short, they were *sure*, or *nearly sure*, that there would be *men* at this meeting to put such questions as would be difficult to answer. This *modesty* at home must greatly alarm the *colonial set!* They,

who look upon every creature belonging to the government as having a right divine to trample on every body else, will hardly believe their ears, when they are told, that the *Society*, which they regard as more than the king, seem to be *shy* of meeting! They who are at once the basest of slaves and the most insolent of tyrants, will be *surprised* and *indignant* that the *Society* does not put its foot upon the neck of Mr. GRIFFIN, and squeeze out his *breath*! They will learn shortly, that things are changed here; and, if they be wise, they will husband well what they have got; for, I am deceived if they ever get much more from *England*.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE First Number will be published on the *first of June*; that is to say, on Saturday next; because the first of June is on Sunday. The title is to be, "*Advice to Young Men, and incidentally and with great difficulty, to Young Women, in the middle and higher ranks of life.*" I shall begin with the **YOUTH**, go to the **YOUNG MAN** or the **BACHELOR**, talk the matter over with him as a **LOVER**, then consider him in the character of **HUSBAND**; then as **FATHER**; then as **CITIZEN** or **SUBJECT**; though if he will be ruled by me, he will, if he can, contrive to exist in the former of these two capacities. Such will be the nature of my work; or, rather, such will be the division of it. Each number will contain thirty pages of print; will be covered by a wrapper made of the **CORN PAPER**, which will have notices, advertisements, and the like, in the usual way. The work is intended to contain twelve Numbers, to be published on the first day of every month, and the price of each Number will be *Nixpence*. So that for six shillings, expended in one year of his life, I do believe that any Youth or Young Man may acquire that knowledge, which will enable him to pass the rest of his life with as little as possible of those troubles and inconveniences which arise from want of being warned of danger in time. At any rate, I,

who have passed safely through as many dangers as any man that ever lived, will give my young countrymen the means of acquiring all the knowledge relative to these matters, which my experience has given me.

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